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# The Use of Postpositions in Southern Tati

The late Professor Minorsky was among the first to draw attention to the Iranian dialects spoken by the Tats in northwestern Persia (*v. Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 1st. ed., under 'Tāt').

Through the years of our association and friendship, he never lost interest in Tati dialects and often inquired about the results of my investigations of them. It is with a deep sense of loss that I dedicate this paper to his cherished memory.

E.Y.

1. A distinctive feature of Tati dialects, spoken sporadically in a large area in northwestern Iran, where the common vernacular is mainly Turkish, is the frequent use of postpositions with indirect objects. Prepositions are rare in these dialects and generally are of borrowed origin, appearing chiefly in affected speech. Here the postpositions employed in Southern Tati, *i.e.* the variety of Tati spoken to the south and southwest of Qazvin, are discussed in some detail[1]. Southern Tati includes the sub-dialects of Tākestān, Chāl, Esfarvarin, Xiāraj, Dānesfān, Xoznin, Ebrāhimābād and Sagzābād, all fairly large villages spread on a plain which stretches to the north and east of the Mount Rāmand.

1. For a general description of these dialects, *v.* 'The Tati dialects of Rāmand,' *A Locust's Leg*, London, 1962, p. 240 ff.

To these may be added the dialect of Eshtehārd, further to the south and east, in the Savejbolāq district of Karaj[2]. Northern Tati dialects will also be drawn upon for supplementary information.

2. All postpositions are unstressed. They may follow a noun or a pronoun. When a noun is followed by both an enclitic pronoun and a postposition, the pronoun precedes the postposition (*v.* below for examples). The object of a postposition is, generally speaking[3], expressed in the oblique case. This is particularly clear when the object is plural, *e.g.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Cha. | *razōn-u*[4] 'in the gardens' |
| Tak. | *culon-ada*[5] 'in the pastures' |
| Sag. | *dārun-ā becinā* 'pick you from the trees'. |

When, however, a postposition begins with a vowel[6] and its object is singular, the ending *-e* of the oblique disappears, and this creates the impression of the object being in the direct case, *e.g.*

2. The dialects are abbreviated as Cha., Tak., Esf., Xia., Dan., Xoz., Ebr., Sag., and Esh., respectively. Ram. (Rāmandi) refers to the material contained in the *resāle-ye loghat-e fors-e qadim-e ahāli-ye rāmand* (Treatise on the vocabulary of the old Persian of the people of Rāmand), ed. by M. Sotude, *F.I.Z.* III, 1, 1955. This material reflects the dialect of Xiāraj, as spoken about one hundred years ago. Occasionally it shows nuances, compared to the present day Xiāraji.

3. The object of Esh. *da* 'in, from,' however, is generally expressed in the direct case; *v.* § 18, *a.*

4. *ō* in Cal. and Ebr. is [oʷ], and *ē* in the same dialects is [eʲ]. The faint diphthongal element at the end generally disappears in rapid speech.

5. *c* and *j* are used for *č* [tʃ] and *ǰ* [dz], respectively.

6. No postposition beginning with a vowel was attested in Eshtehārdi.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cha. | *cemen jif-u* 'in my pocket' |
| Ebr. | *ji zamin-a fāyda ni* 'there is no profit in this land' |
| Sag. | *jem cul-a* 'in this plain' |
| Xoz. | *cāh-a ewa barow* 'bring out water from the well' |

Such postpositions, suppressing the oblique ending in the singular, create case-like forms. The fact that they are not case endings is revealed, however, by their appearing frequently also after the oblique plural marker (*v.* above) and after enclitic pronouns, *e.g.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Cha. | *kia*[7]*-yōn-u* 'from your house' |
| Tak. | *del-em-a* 'out of my heart' |
| Xia. | *doh-iun-ā* 'from your village' |
| Sag. | *lia-š-a* 'from its hole' |
| Esf. | *xāharon-eš-a* 'from among his sisters' |

3. All the dialects have at least one postposition which has both a locative and an ablative sense, meaning 'in, within, from within, from, out of.'

These are *ku* (Cha., Xia., Ebr., Sag.)[8], *xo* (Tak.), *u* (Cha., Xia.)[9], *a* (Tak., Ebr., Esf., Xoz.), *ā* (Sag., Dan.), and *da* (Tak., Esh., Ebr.)

7. Hiatus is generally avoided in Tati. When two vowels come into contact, if they do not merge and if the second vowel does not change into a semivowel, they are generally bridged by a faint glide (*y* or *w*) or by an intrusive *r*, or, rarely, by an *h*. The glides *y* and *w* are not indicated in the transcription. They are to be assumed.

8. In my limited Dan. and Esf. examples, *ku* has only an ablative sense, but probably it has also a locative meaning.

9. This is probably also the case in Esf. and Xoz. In my notes, however, *u* occurs in these two dialects only in the locative sense.

4. In Chāli and Xiāraji the use of *ku* and *u*, both of which have the same meaning (namely, 'in, from, out of'), depends on whether the object is human, animal, or inanimate. In Chāli *ku* is used only for a person or a personified object, and *u* for other objects. In Xiāraji, *ku* is used for the animate and *u* for the inanimate[10] object.

5. Postpositions attested in Southern Tati are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ku* | 'from, in' (Chə., Xia., Ebr., Sag.); 'from' (Dan., Esf.) (*v.* fn. 8) |
| *xo* | 'from, in' (Tak.), corresponding to *ku* in Chāli, but used with both animate and inanimate objects. |
| *u* | 'in, from, out of, with' (Cha.); 'in, from' (Xia.,); 'in' (Esf., Xoz.)[11]; 'by means of, with' (Sag.) |
| *rā* | 'for, to' (all the dialects) |
| *ā* | 'in, from' (Sag., Dan.)[12] |
| *a* | 'in, from, out of' (Tak., Ebr., Esf., Xoz.); 'from' (Xia.)[13] |
| *da* | 'in, from' (Ebr., Tak., Xia.[14], Ebr.) |
| *(e)ndu* | 'with, in' (Cha.) (*e*- appears when a consonant precedes) |

10. In my Dan. materials *kn* is attested so far only for a person, and in Esf. only for an inanimate object.

11. As far as my limited materials in these two dialects show.

12. In a sole example, also in Cha. *v.* below.

13. My materials contain no examples in Xia. with meanings other than 'from'; for possible examples in Sag. *v.* below, fn. 40.

14. *da* occurs only once in my Xia. materials; *v.* § 18, *d.* In Tak. it amplifies the postpositon *a* which apparently always precedes it.

*(n)endu* 'by means of' (Ebr.) (*n*- appears when a vowel precedes)

*bi* 'with' (Tak.)

*bejā* 'with' (Esh.)

*vari* 'with' (Dan.)

*(an?)* 'from' (Xia., Ram.)

*ku* 'from', 'in'[15]

**6.** In Chāli *ku* is employed for a person, and in Xiāraji for a person or animal, *e.g.*

Cha. *piar-öm ku āvāl-āger* 'inquire from my father'
*Šāmamadiō ku em rasm ni* 'this custom does not exist among the Shāh-Mohammadis'

Xia. *pevl Hasan-e ku ugi* 'take money from Hasan'

In the available examples from Esfarvarini, too, *ku* is used only with an object denoting a person, *e.g.*

Esf. *Zeynaba ku ugur* 'take [it] from Zeynaba (fem.)
*darviše ku āpars* 'inquire from the dervish'

In Dānesfāni, the use of *ku* is somewhat widened, and *ku* is employed also with nouns denoting animals, *e.g.*

Dan. *ja furey ku xabar āgi* 'inquire from that boy'
*je zania ku* 'from this woman'
*cārā ku alafe āgi* 'take [away] the grass from the sheep'

15. Cf. *u* and *a*, below.

In Ebrāhimābādi and Sagzābādi[16] the use of *ku* is still further widened, and its object may be animate or inanimate, *e.g.*

Ebr. *Hasane ku āpars* 'inquire from Hasan'

*ji qoce ku höcö ēb ni* 'there is no defect in this ram'

*ji dāre ku ēb ni* 'there is no defect in this tree'

*zamine ku qovvat megere* 'it obtain strength from earth'

Sag. *Hasan-e ku fel bar-nemiā* 'money cannot be obtained from Hasan'

*asb-e ku betars* 'beware of horse[s]!'

*divār-e ku kenār-tar beša* 'go further aside from the wall!'

*jā zania cu i ferar-eš da* 'he had a son from that woman'

*Hasan-e cu höc eyb ni*[17] 'there is no defect in Hasan'

*jie ku xabar-em āgerat* 'I inquired from him'

*ku* is not used in Eshtehārdi and Xoznini. For Tākestāni *v.* below.

Note: *ku* occurs as a postposition also in the Tati dialects spoken in Kāghaz-konān and the Shāhrud of Khalkhāl[18], with the meaning of 'from, than, in, on, at'. In the sub-dialects of Lerd and Karnak (two villages in the Shāhrud and Khoresh-e

16. Most Sagzābādi speakers palatalize *k* and *g* into *c* and *j*, respectively. One of my informants from the Qalā district, however, did not palatize the sounds to the point of changing their quality. Hence both *cu* and *ku* in **Sag.** examples.

17. My sole example in this dialect with a locative sense.

18. Including Koluri, Shāli, Kahali, Karani, Dizi, Geylavāni and Kajali.

Rostam of Khalkhāl, respectively) it is reduced to *k*[19]. Examples[20]:

| | |
|---|---|
| Kol. | *luās bāqa ku dare* 'the fox is in the garden' |
| Kah. | *ešta piar ku āpars* 'inquire from your father' |
| Kar. | *agi bene bān-e ku* 'pick [it] up [and] put [it] on the roof' |
| | *rā-ku* 'on the road' |
| | *decekāmen-eš ka bare ku* 'stick it to the house-door' |
| | *Māsāle ku mive kame* 'there is little fruit in Māsāl' |
| | *vahar šete ku sebitare* 'snow is whiter than milk' |
| | *Lorde ku-nde* 'they are in Lerd' |
| Gey. | *šinālakān ekarā āftabe ku* 'spread you (lit. pour!) the apricots in the sunshine' |
| Ler. | *Māsāle-k ārasesim* 'we arrived in Māsāl' |
| | *ceme dase-k-em tāša bindā* 'I saw a chip-axe in his hand' |
| | *deran cā-k* 'throw in the pit'. |
| | *ācek bare-k* 'stick [it] on the door!' |

*xo* 'from', 'in'

7. *xo* is the Tākestāni equivalent of *ku*. As is the case in Ebrāhimābādi and Sagzābādi, however, it is used with both animate and inanimate objects. *e.g.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Tak. | *berā-m xo xabar nedirem* 'I have no news from my brother' |
| | *bare xo mixe bar-ār* 'pull out the nail from the door!' |

19. *ku* is also used in southern Tāleshi. It does not occur, however, in the dialects of Alamut and Rudbār, nor in the dialect of Razejerd, in the Kuhpāye District, east of Qazvin.

20. The first three letters of each dialect will serve as the abbreviation of it.

*bila xo gile pāk āyar* 'wipe the mud from the spade!'

*u* 'in', 'from', 'out of', 'by means of', 'with'

**8.** The meaning of *u*, a frequent postposition in Southern Tati, and the extent of its use varies among the dialects. It has the widest range in Chāli, where it most frequently means 'in, within, inside' (probably its primary meaning), but also 'from, out of' (second most frequent meaning), and 'with.' In this dialect it may also follow a direct object. Xiāraji confines the meaning of *u* to 'in' and 'from.' In Sagzābādi, however, *u* means 'with, by means of' (Pers. *bā*). *V.* below for Esfarvarini and Xoznini.

**9.** In Chāli and Xiāraji (and apparently also in Esfarvarini and Xozini) *u* is used for animal or inanimate objects, in contradistinction to *ku*, which is employed for human (Chāli) or animate (Xiāraji) objects. When an object is "personified", however, then *ku* is used instead of *u*, *e.g.*

Cha. *asbē ku vafā piša begir* 'learn loyalty from dog[s]'
*gāve ku āvāl āger* 'ask of the bull'
*deraxte ku āvāl āger* 'inquire of the tree'
(*cf.* *deraxt-u becin* 'pick from the tree'
*asb-u bē dara* 'come down from the horse!')
Xia. *dār-e ku āpars* 'ask of the tree'

The following example, however, seems to indicate a widening use of *u*:

Xia. *do xāk-u*[21] *ia-š šev-eš karda bef* 'of the two

21. Instead of expected *xāke-ku*.

sisters one has married'

**10.** In Chāli when a noun ends in *-a*, the postposition *u* and the final *-a* merge into *ō*. The stress of the *ō* depends on that of *-a*. Examples:

Cha. *gārō (i.e. gārá+u)* 'in the cradle'
*piar-i kiō (i.e., kiá+u)* 'in your father's house'
*kiō mōma* 'I come from the house'
*tuarō (i.e. tuará+u) aber-ārd* 'he brought [it] out of the nosebag'
*xōlō (i.e., xóla+u) zamin di* 'give fertilizer to the land!'
*darzánō bedutem* 'I sewed with [a] needle'

**11.** It appears that the same postposition is involved in the following examples from Esfarvarini, where *-o* represents the combination of a final *-a* and a postposition:

Esf. *sar rāho cemen cōšto undi pinaduj beduji* 'on [your] way give my shoes to the cobbler to sew' (*rāha* 'road'; *cf.* Pers. *dar rāh*, lit. 'in the way')
*gušti-ji tíro deniā tana* 'and put the meat, [which is] in the pot, on the stove' (*tíra* 'pot')
*ašo bey comā kió* 'tonight come to (lit. in) our house' (*kiá* 'house')
*Hasan Mammad-eš mo rāho bind* 'Hasan saw Mohammad on the road'
*mo kió uger* 'take [it] from the house'

But no postposition *u* as such occurs in my Esfarvarini notes, except in the following example where *u* follows a direct object:

Esf. *a teti pul-u umagur* 'don't take money from that girl!' (*cf.* the same usage in Chāli)

Considering the Chāli *-ō*<*-a*+*u*, however, there should be little doubt that the inherent Esfarvarini postposition is *u*, 'in, from', which occurs in both Chāli and Xiāraji. The assumption is strengthened by *comā kiu*, 'in our house'[22], a variant given by one of my informants for *comā kio*. He considered both forms correct. It seems that whereas *ku* has been retained in this dialect for human beings, *u* tends to be replaced by *a* (a postposition used also in the neighboring Tākestān), but *u* is kept where it has merged with *-a*[23].

The same considerations suggest the presence of *u* 'in' in Xoznini. *Cf.*

Xoz. *mon rāho* 'on the way'

*bey comā kiu*[24] 'come to our house'

*dādā-š kiu va kia dāri-š mika* 'his sister remained (lit. was) in the house [and] took care of the house'

**12.** The following uses of *u* were attested in Chāli:

*a*) with a locative sense (where Persian uses *dar*, which in English may mean also 'upon,' 'on,' and 'at'), *e.g.*

Cha. *em amberāz-öm sanduq-u andās* 'I found this clothing in the trunk'

22. *v.* below for a similar Xoz. example.

23. Probably the postposition *u* is present also in Esf. *i-sādo* '[in] this time', *ā-sādo*, '[in] that time,' *je-lako* 'here,' *jā-lako* 'there.' Cf. *ā mixa jā-lako uvij* 'pull out that nail from there.'

24. No variant *kio* occured in Xoz., as it did in Esf.

*ceme jif-u* 'in my pocket'
*i sāt-u* 'in a courtyard'

*i pā pasō i pā parōn-u* 'one foot behind and one foot in front'

*zōmē kamar-u* 'in the bridegroom's belt'
*em xāv-u-y* 'he is asleep (lit. in sleep)'

*Šāh Abbās jeya pay-u bešö* 'Shah 'Abbās went after him (lit. in his footstep)'

*ya quti var-u* '[with a] box in [his] arm[s]'
*ji hin-u* 'meanwhile (lit. in this time)'
*ta ku das-u diri vō:na* 'you who have an excuse on hand'

*cemen rāh-u mi-kaši* 'you suffer for me (lit. you suffer in my path)' [25].

*sāte-mōn-u dö tane* 'there are two stoves in our yard'

*döšman-e mōn-u* 'among the enemies (lit. enemy)'
*i pā rekāb-u, i pā zamin-u* 'one foot in the stirrup, one foot on the ground'
*razōn-u* 'in the gardens'
*kiōn-u* 'in the houses'
*sar taxt-u unešt* 'he sat on the throne'[26].

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25. Cf. Pers. *dar rāh-e kasi keshidan* 'to suffer for someone.'

26. From a number of examples it seems that when the verb denotes movement, the locative object is not followed by *-u*: *amberāz mō sanduq-u yi* 'the clothing is in the trunk,' but *dāshin mō sanduq-e* 'throw [it] into the trunk'; *dōzd unesht mō sāt-u* 'the thief sat in the courtyard', but *pertā-bede mō sāt-e* 'throw [it] into the courtyard.' With the verb 'to go,' however, the usage is inconclusive, *e.g. jay īz-u beshö* 'he went in his footsteps,' but *dōz beshō mō sāt-e* 'the thief went into the courtyard.' In most cases the locative object of 'to go' is followed by *u*.

*b*) with an ablative sense (where Persian uses *az*, which in English translation may also mean 'than,' of,' and 'out of'), *e.g.*

Cha. *šilōnaka deraxt-u becinā* 'pick you apricot[s] from the tree'

*kia-yōn-u* 'from your house'

*ba sare ša:r-u abar-muši* 'you go out from the other end (lit. that end) of the city'[27]

*asb-u bē dara* 'dismount (lit. come down) from the horse!'

*xāv-u pā-miši* 'you get up from sleep'

*be sāt-u abar-šia* 'she went out of this courtyard'

*Rāmanda kuh-u* 'from the Mount Rāmand'

*c*) with an instrumental sense (*i.e.*, where Persian uses *bā*), *e.g.*

Cha. *šamšir-u ay-šōn banjand* 'they cut (past) him into pieces with [a] sword'

*je-šōn gušt maqāš-u becind* 'they cut (past) his flesh with scissors'

*zerzer ë taqtaq-u* 'with cacophonous sounds'[28]

*dallāk Ṣafar-u* 'with Safar the Barber'

*nāz-u pā-mi-bi* 'you get up with airs and graces'

*amberāz-öm-u begeratöm* 'I took [it] with my clothes'

*bēmenda qörōn-u ša:m-u* 'they came with [a] Koran and with candle[s]'

*d*) In a number of examples, *u* follows a definite direct

27. *Cf.* the colloquial Persian equivalent: *az ān sar-e shahr dar-miri.*

28. *zerzer* and *taqtaq* are onomatopoeia.

object, *e.g.*

Cha. *āh u mīkaši* 'you sigh (lit. you draw sigh)'
*āh-em u kašast* 'I sighed'
*sar u yaröm* '(that) I set out to wander'[29]

Since *u-kašasen* does not exist in Chāli as a complex verb, and *u-yarden* as a complex verb means only 'to kindle', one is not encouraged to consider *u* in the last three examples as the otherwise common preverb *u-* in this dialect.

*e*) Some uses of *u* present a problem. In a number of examples where the verb has both an accusative and a dative object, *u* follows the accusative and precedes the dative[30], very much like a preposition meaning 'to, toward', *e.g.*

Cha. *pul u piar-i di* 'give money to your father!'
*varge xešten u cuārō zanind* 'the wolves throw themselves on the sheep'
*xōlō (i.e., xōla+u) zamin di* 'give fertilizer to the land'
*qand u zamin ni* 'put the sugar down (lit. on the ground)'
*mö:r u zamin ni* 'put the [praying] tablet on the ground'
*pul u cemen di* 'give the money' to me
*pul u ja:va ni* 'put the money in the box'

In this usage *u* may be separated from the accusative object

29. *Cf.* the similar Persian idioms *sar konam, sar begoδāram (be ṣaḥrā)*.

30. If the dative object is singular and inanimate, it has an uninflected form.

by an enclitic pronoun, *e. g.*

Cha. *dim-eš u biābōn yard* 'he turned his face toward the desert'

*das-em u ešta damōn* '[I stretch] my hand[s] to your skirt (*i.e.*, I beseech your help)'

If the dative object is not mentioned, *u* disappears and the accusative object appears in the general oblique form. *Cf.*

Cha. *bar u zamin āšin* 'throw the door onto the ground!'

(but *bar-e bāšin* 'throw the door)'

*gel u difār ger* 'stick the mud to the wall!'

(but *gel-e söft ā-yar* 'make the mud thick!')

*āvō (i.e., āva+u) raz di* 'give water to the garden!'

(but *āva bebar* 'take away the water')

When *u* as a postposition follows the dative object, *u* may not at the same time follow the direct object which precedes the dative, *cf.*

Cha. *Hasan-e pul u jar xāka yar* 'place Hasan's money under the earth (*i.e.*, inter it)'

(but *Hasan-e pul jar-u diar*[31] 'hide Hasan's money') (*jar* 'beneath,' Pers. *zir*)

The above examples may suggest that one consider *u* also

31. According to my chief Chāli informant, Āmeli, *Hasan-e pul u jar u diar* is impossible. From the following example it seems that when the verb has the *u*-prefix, *u* does not precede the dative object: *zur u zamin di* / *zur zamin undi* 'give fertilizer to the land.'

as a preposition preceding a dative object. There are, however, the following points to be taken into account:

i. When the order of the objects is reversed, *i.e.*, when the dative precedes the accusative, *u* generally disappears and the dative assumes the oblique form, *e. g.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Cha. | *gel u difār ger* 'stick mud to the wall!' |
| (but | *difār-e gel deger* 'stick mud to the wall') |
| | *zur u zamin di* 'give fertilizer to the land' |
| (but | *zamin-e zur undi* 'give fertilizer to the land') |

ii. When the accusative object is a person, *u* disappears:

| | |
|---|---|
| Cha. | *quc u pāin*[32] *āšin* 'throw down the ram!' |
| (but | *zārö (i.e., zāru+e) pāin āšin* 'throw down the child!') |
| | *barrō (i.e., barra+u) bōn āšīn* 'throw the spade [up on] the roof' |
| (but | *Hasn-e bōn āšin* 'throw Hasan [up on] the roof') |

Considering i. and ii., and the general absence of genuine prepositions in Chāli, as well as the fact that *-u* does follow the accusative object in some examples when no dative object is required (see *d*, above), one might tentively set up the following rule: When a verb has both an accusative and a dative object, *u* may be used as a postposition for a non-human accusative object, provided that a dative object of the same verb follows.

**13.** In Xiāraji, *u* is used either in a locative or in an ablative sense for non-human objects, *e. g.*

32. An adverb which can be used as a noun.

Xia. *asbe dahan-u ugi* 'take [it] from the horse's mouth'
*māst-u kara bigi* 'extract butter from yogurt'
*yöwn-u hiški ni* 'there is no one in the field.'
*ašun āsmun-u estāra nia* 'tonight there is not a star in the sky'
*döh-u ra:yati mikard* 'he used to do farming in the village'

**14**. In Sagzābādi, which uses a different postposition, namely *ā*, for 'in, from,' *u* is employed in the sense of 'with, by means of,' *e. g.*

Sag. *jeme cacöš-u becu*[33] 'hit this with [a] hammer'
*jeme xoyye uger* 'lift this with [a] shovel'
*āšoq bexundeš daf-u zernow*[34] 'the minstrel sang with tambourine and hautboy'
*xoyyon-u bezavā beši* 'hit [him] with shovels so that he goes'[35]

In the other dialects *u* was not attested. They use other postpositions to convey the meaning of 'in' and 'from', as is the case in Sagzābādi.

*(r)ā* 'for', 'to'

**15**. *(r)ā* is used in all the dialects, in a dative sense. After

33. *V.* fn. 16.

34. Probably <*zernā+u*. Cf. *jiow bë* 'was with her', apparently<*jia+u*.

35. In J. Āl-e Aḥmad's Sag. materials, contained in the *tāt neshinhāy-e boluk-e zahrā*, Tehran, 1958, *beshu dadar-esh-o selā maslahat* (p. 115) 'he went to consult (Arab-Pers. *ṣalāḥ-o maṣlaḥat*) with his father,' *-o* seems to represent *u*.

a consonant generally *r-* drops out. Examples:

Cha. *ešta rā nakugari miaröm* 'I will help you (lit. I will do goodness to you)'
*purar-eš-ā* 'for his son'
*umālōn-eš-ā māje* 'he tells his mates'

Tak. *fel-em ādā xešta rā* 'gave money for brick[s]'

Esh. *ji rā miarzun* 'we leave it for him'
*nā-mun ešta rā argardi* 'we have acquired this for you (sing.)'

Ebr. *bara rā dasta berxin* 'buy [a] handle for the spade'

Sag. *ešta xāter-ā āgardastem* 'I returned for your sake'[36]

Dan. *luās(e) rā buā* 'tell the fox'

Esf. *miša rā alaj diarā* 'give you grass to th ewe!'

Xoz. *šalunaka comā rā ugi bo* 'buy and bring [some] apricot[s] for us'

*ā* 'in', 'from'

**16.** This postposition is employed in a locative or ablative sense in Sagzābādi and Dānesfāni, as are *ku* and *u* in Xiāraji. Examples:

*a*) in a locative sense:

Sag. *cemā dohun-ā torki-vāj xeylie* 'there are many Turkish-speaking [people] in our villages'
*jušt tiara mun-ā*[37] 'the meat is in (lit. is in the

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36. In a number of instances Āle-Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, has recorded *(r)a* instead of *(r)ā* (pp. 95,97,101,103,107,113,121).

37. *e* 'is' coalesces with *ā*.

middle of) the pot'

*panj sāl parun-tar-ā* (lit. 'in) five years earlier'

*bešeyma pas-ā* 'I went back (lit. in behind)'

*mamlecate cin-ā* (105)[38] 'in the land of China'

*jem cul-ā* (111) 'in this plain'

*dast-eš beba jib-eš-ā* (109) 'he put his hand into his pocket'

*indi-ā* (109) 'in here'

Dan. *jom-ā āwa ia yā nia* 'is there water in the bowl or there isn't?'

*b*) in an ablative sense ('from', 'from within', 'out of')[39] *e.g.*

Sag. *azira raz-ā bar umem, bediam i duna māra lia-š-ā bar miāya* 'yesterdy I came out of the garden [and] saw a snake coming out of its hole'

*i nafar derv-ā miume* 'a person was coming from afar'

*dārun-ā golābi becin* 'pick pear[s] from the tree'

*sange xāka jir-ā barow* 'take out the stone from beneath the earth'

*bun-ā bekat* 'he fell from the roof'

*lācun-ā nun uje bey* 'bring (lit. pick up [and] come) bread from the [wooden] trays'

*sanduqe mun-ā barow* 'take out from within the trunk'

*zamin-ā barow* 'pull out from the earth'

*hamum-ā bar miāy* 'you (sing.) come out of the bath'

---

38. Figures in parenthesis after Ebr. and Sag. examples refers to pages of Āle-Aḥmad materials, *op. cit.*

39. Where Persian uses *az*. Notice that in 'from within, out of' a locative sense is also implied.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *šir-ā bāz-uma* (103) 'he was weaned (lit. he came away from milk)' |
| | *vir-ā bar-šiān* (154) 'to go out of memory (*i.e.* to become forgotten)' |
| Dan. | *luās-ā matars* 'don't be afraid of [a] fox' |

**17.** A final *-a* merges with the postpositions *ā*, *e.g.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Sag. | *dārā jirow jir* 'come down from the tree!' (*dāra*, fem., 'tree') |
| | *ciā va* 'she was in the house (*ciá*, masc., 'house')' |
| | *jem rāhā* (109) 'in this road (*rāha*, fem., 'road')' |
| Dan. | *vin tanā ātaš ia yā nia* 'see if there is fire in the oven or there isn't (*tána*, fem., 'oven')'[40] |

Note: *rā* occurs also in a large number of Northern Tati dialects, including Kahali, Kajali, Karani, Geylavāni, Lerdi and Mušqini. Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| Kah. | *ešte mār rā ila cāy deka* 'pour a [cup of] tea for your mother' |
| Kar. | *karge rā dāna arka* 'pour grain for the hen!' |

40. In a number of instances *a* appears in Āle-Aḥmad materials instead of *ā*, *e.g. eshta fel-a* (97) 'from your money'; *jahandam-a bar umiā* (97) 'he had come out of hell'; *daryā low-a* (111) 'at the sea-shore'. *Cf. ganjala dim-ā* (105) 'at the border of the wood'. To decide whether *a* is genuine, reflecting a subdialect, or is due to defective printing, requires further study. *a* in this sense does not appear in my materials, which belong to *Mon Qalā* and *Qalā* districts. Some of the Āle-Aḥmad examples (pp. 94-99) probably reflect the Ebrāhimābādi dialect, since the informant who produced them was, according to the author, a native of Ebrāhimābād, even though a resident of Sagzābād. But that is not the case with some other examples.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *bešom izem-e rā* 'let us go for fuel' |
| Ler. | *cema-rā-š bua* 'bring it for me' |

*a* 'in', 'from'

**18.** This postposition is found in Tākestāni, Xiāraji, Ebrāhimābādi, Esfarvarini, and Xoznini. Like *u*, it is employed in both a locative and an ablative sense. (where Persian uses *dar* or *az*)[41]. Examples:

*a*) in ablative sense (where Persian uses *az*),

| | |
|---|---|
| Tak. | *xabar dārëm ešta del-a* 'I am aware of your heart (*i.e.*, your feelings)'[42] |
| | *dasem-a bar-šö* 'it went out of my hand (*i.e.*, I lost it)'[43] |
| | *cian del-ëm-a bar-ā* 'how will my heart allow it (lit. how will it come out of my heart?)'[44] |
| | *Amir-Hušang-a xor-tar zomā heškas nie* 'there is no son-in-law better than Amir-Hušang' |
| Xia. | *huš-a bar-šö* 'he fainted (lit. wen out of consciousness)'[45] |
| | *em suār-e dast-a mahal* 'don't let go [of] this horseman (lit. don't let from hand)' |
| | *ta beša döh-iun-a pelaw baw* 'you (sing.) go [and] bring pilaf from your village' |
| Ebr. | *ewa cāh-a bekaš* 'draw water from the well' |

41. *a* is an infrequent postposition in Xiāraji and is attested only in an ablative sense.

42. *Cf.* Pers. *az del-at xabar dāram.*

43. *Cf.* the Cha. version: *dasōn-u.*

44. *Cf.* Pers. *as del-am bar-ne-mi-āyad* 'I don't have heart for it'

45. *Cf.* Pers. *az hush raft*

*Hasan bar-a bēma* 'Hasan came [in] from the door'
*merāz sar tanāf-a bege* 'take the clothes off the rope'
*jua-r-a ugu* 'take from that one'
*jindi-a ugu* 'take from this one'
*juārēn-a magu* 'don't take from those'

Esf. *asb-a betars* 'beware of the horse'
*pöšte bar-a barra-š ugurt* 'he picked the spade from behind the door'
*xākaron-eš-a i-š bāteš* 'from among his sisters one said'
*jā bar-a bigir* 'take [it] from that door'
*jā divār-a uvij* 'pry [it] away from that wall'

Xoz. *bara-š pöšte bar-a ugerat-eš* 'he picked his spade from behind the door'
*kama vayma deraxt-a becinā* 'pick you a few almond[s] from the tree'
*cāh-a ewa barow* 'take out water from the well'
*ā mix difār-a barow* 'pull out that nail from the wall'
*ji deraxt-a beša ja deraxt* 'go from this tree to that tree'
*sanduqa mun-a ugerateš* 'he picked it from inside the trunk'

*b*) in a locative sense; *e. g.*

Tak. *ništa vim paxta bon-a* 'I was seated on a broad roof'
*bālem-a-ye sowza duyā* 'there is a green amulet on my arm'

*ji göftegu-a... via* 'she was... In this conversa- (when.. )'

*ji aftavon-a* 'in this sunshine (pl.)'[46]

*duste došmane mon-a* 'among friend[s] and foe[s]'[47]

Ebr. *beša mēn razēn-a* 'go into the gardens'

*ji zamin-a fāyda ni* 'there is no profit in this land'

Esf. *ša:r-a gāv i-š sand tömen-a* 'in the city cattle are (lit. is) a hundred *tumān*[48] each'

*mo raz-a bekatia* 'it is lying in (lit. in the middle of) the garden'

Xoz. *low daryāh-a cādor-eš bezand* 'he pitched his tent at the seashore'

It appears that in some of the dialects, notably Esfarvarini and Xoznini, *a* is replacing *u* or has already done so (*v.* § 11.) In Xiāraji, on the other hand, *a* seems to have begun setting in, while *u* is still frequently used.

Note: *a* occurs also in Razejerdi (in the Kuhpāye District of Qazvin) in ablative and locative senses, *e. g.*

Raz. *asb ku-a buma* 'the horse returned from the mountains'

*ša:r-a* 'in town'

But then in this dialect *a* (*ra* after words ending in *-a* or *-ā*) has grown into an all-purpose particle which is attached to all verb objects, whether direct or indirect. It may be placed

46. *Cf.* Cha. equivalent *aftāvōn-u*

47. *Cf.* the Cha. equivalent *döshman-e mōn-u.*

48. A unit of Persian money, consisting of ten rials.

not only after singular nouns, but also after plural nouns, as well as after pronouns, whether independent or enclitic. Whether *(r)a* in some of these cases is a shortened form of *rā*, which has coalesced with *a* 'in, from', requires further study. Examples:

Raz. *öštö polu-a* 'from near thee'
*ku-a* 'from the mountain'
*bil-a dassa bexar* 'buy [a] handle for the spade'
*xoviā-r-a dassa bexar* 'buy [a] handle for the shovels'
*Hasan-a pörs* 'ask Hasan'
*Zeynaba-r-a pörs* 'ask Zeynaba (fem.)'
*māri-m-a diem* 'I saw my mother'
*bez-a bar ku* 'take the goat to the mountain'
*bezā-r-a bar ku* 'take the goats to the mountain'
*un-a zun* 'hit him!'
*una-r-a zan* 'hit her!'
*cema-r-a mapörs* 'don't ask us'
*cunā-r-a pörs* 'ask them!'

In the case of the pronouns, *-r-* appears also after *u* and *ö*, *e.g.*

*tö-r-a* 'thee' (dir. obj.)
*öštö-r-a* 'from thee, for thee, to thee'
*u-r-a* 'him' (dir. obj.)
*cu-r-a* 'from him, for him, to him'

One might argue whether one should call *(r)a* a postposition or rather a case ending denoting an object. The argument would apply also to *-e* in Mušqini (in the Rudbār of Almut.)

## *da* 'in', 'from'

**19.** *da* is employed in Eshtehārdi with the above meanings, corresponding to *u* or *a* in a number of other dialects (*v.*§§ 8,16). In Tākestāni and Ebrāhimābādi, it amplifies the postposition *a*, which generally precedes it. It appears also infrequently in Xiāraji and Dānesfāni. Combined with the present of 'to be', it has a wider usage (*v.* below).

*a*) Eshtehārdi. *da* is a very frequent postposition in Eshtehārdi. Its object is generally expressed in the direct case; when the object is plural, however, it is often expressed in the oblique. Examples:

i. In a locative sense,

Esh. *cenda mās na zarf da ia?* 'how much yogurt is there in this bowl?'

*amuun-em esba šowa* (f.) *da milāve* 'my uncles' dog howls during the night'

*ieyni jā-hā da* 'in other places'

*hena jāun* (obl.) *da* 'in such places'

ii. In an ablative sense, *e. g.*

*a mardiun da arga* 'take from those men'

*qowat da kowa* 'it weakens (lit. falls from strength)'

*kavalun deq da* 'from the seam[s] of the [canal-] tiles'

*b*) Tākestāni. In all Tākestāni instances, *da* is preceded by *a*. On formal grounds one may consider *ada* as a single postposi-

tion meaning 'in, from,' but in addition to the fact that *a* appears also singly, my informants considered *-da* an independent particle, and I have followed their distinction. Examples:

i. In a locative sense:

Tak. *Qazvin-a-da kār ni* 'there is no job in Qazvin'
*raz-a-da deraxt xeyli-e* 'there are many tree[s] in the garden'
*culon-a-da varg-ye* 'there are wolves (sing.) on the plains'
*kia-mon-a-da non nie* 'there is no bread in our house'
*Amir Arsalān ša:r-e farang-a-da-r-e*[49] 'Amir Arsalān is in Europe (lit. Frankish kingdom)'
*ešta ešq-a-da merbanem* 'I weep for (lit. in) your love'
*kālā-da*[50] *bumādarun* '(there is) milfoil in the field[s]'
*ingā-da-r-eyma* 'we are here (lit. in here)'

ii. In an ablative sense (less frequent):

Tak. *yun-a-da buma bešö bon* 'he came from the field and went [up] the roof'

*c*) Ebrāhimābādi: An infrequent postposition in this dialect, *da* is generally preceded by *a*, but occasionally *da* appears alone. Its meaning is more frequently expressed by the postpositions *a* and *ku*. The most frequent use of *da* is found in *-dere* 'is' (*v.* below.) Examples:

49. *-r-* is connective.

50. *-a* coalesces with the final *-ā* of kālā.

i. In a locative sense:

Ebr. *ji dāra* (fem.) *da ēb ni* 'there is no defect in this tree'[51]

ii. In an ablative sense:

Ebr. *angur kuā-y barde? raz-a-da* 'from where have you brought the grape[s]? From the vineyard'
*qerqi bālāh-a-da veškinjia megere* 'the sparrow-hawk catches the sparrow from the air (lit. from the above)'

*d*) In my Xiāraji material, *da* appears only in a sole instance:

*kevz da havvaz* 'jump over the stream' (cf. Pers. *az juy bepar*)'

*e*) In Xiāraji (except for the above example) and Sagzābādi *da* was attested only in combination with the present of the substantive verb (*v.* below).

*f*) In Dānesfāni *da* was attested with a locative sense only.

Dan. *az-i Karbalā da vieyma* 'I, too, have been in Karbala'

**19.** When the present of the verb "to be" follows the

51. The literate informant who gave this example gave it originally with *ku* instead of *da*, but then commented that the older and the more correct usage was with *da*.

postposition *da*, a connective *-r-* generally intervenes. Except in Eshtehārdi, the *-a* of *-da* is in such cases frequently narrowed to *e*. Examples:

Tak. *comā kia kifcina sare de-r-e* 'our house is at the head of the alley'
*Hasan engā da-r-e* 'Hasan is here'
*az engā da-r-eyme* 'I am here'
(cf. *ā engā da ye* 'it exists here')

Esh. *az indā da-r-im, tö inadā da-r-iš*, etc. 'I am here, you are here,' etc.
(cf. *az indā da niyim* 'I am not here')
*zumā-mun camā kia da-r-a* 'our son-in-law is in our house'

Ebr. *jājim mēn otāq-a-de-r-e* 'the blanket is in the room'
*jindi-a ni jua-r-a-de-r-e* 'it is not in this [but] it is in that one'
*qāli hama mēn otāqēn-a-de-end*[52] 'all the rugs are in the rooms'
*jāgu-de-r-e* 'it is [in] here'

**20.** In Tākestāni, Ebrāhimābādi, Sagzābādi, and Xiāraji (and possibly in some of the other dialects), the combination of *da* and the present of the verb "to be" has by extension come to mean simply 'I am, you are, he is, etc.' without necessarily implying any locative sense, *e.g.*

Tak. *agar lāyeqe ešta zumāgari dere* 'if he is worthy of being your (sing.) son-in-law'

Sag. *omurāte cia cemen-u dere* 'the affairs of the house

52. Here no connective *-r-* appeared.

is up to me' (cf. Pers. *bā man ast* 'is up to me')

*Note* 1. -*r*- as a connective element occurs in all the dialects, mostly after *a* and *ā*. Further study is needed to determine exact circumstances of its occurrence, which is probably fixed by usage. Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| Cha. | *ruazā-r-ijōm* 'my grandson, too' |
| Esh. | *u-r-āšin* 'throw up.' |
| Ebr. | *jindi-r-a* 'from this' |
| | *jua-r-a* 'in that one' |
| | *juā-r-ēn* 'from those' |
| Sag. | *ešta-r-ij-ā* 'from you, too' |

*Note* 2. *da* occurs also in a number of the Northern Tati dialects. My materials contain examples from Kahali and Geylavāni (in Khalkhāl), Avānaki and Estalbari in Alamut, Dekini[53] and Mušqini in Rudbār, Nowdehi in the Kuhpāye of Qazvin, Xorāni in Tāleqān, Razejerdi in the Kuhpāye of Qazvin, and Kajali in Khalkhāl. In Koluri (Khalkhāl), *dare* 'is' seems to contain this postposition, which otherwise does not occur in the dialect. In Lerdi (Khalkhāl) *dan* 'from' appears to be an extension of *da* (under Turkish influence?). Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| Kah. | *beše māsāl da bexa* 'go [and] buy [it] from Māsāl' |
| Now. | *meni bez ku da vegardi* 'my goat has returned from the mountain |

53. In Dekin, as in a number of other villages in Rudbār, two dialects—Pashā'i and Marāghi—are spoken, each by a different group. My examples are from Pashā'i, where the postposition is *de*.

| | |
|---|---|
| Muš. | *alafe beze var da āger* 'take away the grass from before the goat' |
| | *ceman da opārs* 'ask of me' |
| | *bez sinā da šet mödöšon* 'we milk the milk from the goat's breast' |
| Est. | *bešo berārem da pul hāy* 'go [and] get money from my brother' |
| Ava. | *piar-et da hay* 'take from your father' |
| Xor. | *men da nepars* 'do not ask me' |
| Dek. | *mini boz rā de bake* 'my goat fell on (lit. in) the road' |
| Raz. | *mun rā da* 'on the way (lit. in the road)'[54] |
| Kaj. | *rā da sukula-y-m bihinde* 'I saw a cock on the way' |
| Ler. | *yār dan bešen* 'go from here' |

*(e)ndu* 'with', 'in'; *(n)ende*[55a] 'with'

**21.** *(e)ndu* is a Chāli postposition and is primarily used in the instrumental sense, but also occasionally in the meaning of 'together with' and 'in' (a meaning otherwise expressed by the postposition *u*). It occurs as *-endu* after a consonant, *-ōndu* after the words ending in *-a* or *-ā* (absorbing *-a* or *-ā*), and *-ndu* after the words ending in *-i* or *-u*. Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| Cha. | *Hasan-endu kār dörös ā-mi-be* 'with Hasan (*i.e.*, by means of Hasan) the job will be fixed' |
| | *tir-endu/barrōndu/xoyyōndu / cuārōndu me-ne-be* 'it cannot be done with beam[s]/spade[s]/shovel[s]/sheep'[55] |

54. In Razejerdi the meaning of Persian *dar* is rendered by the postposition *a*, unless its object ends with a vowel, in which case *da* replaces *a*, *e.g.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Raz. | *sh:ar-a* 'in the town' |
| | *xāna-da* 'in the house' |

55. The plain forms are *tir*, *bârra* (fem.), *xoyyá*, and *cuārā*.

*šava šeš saat ë nim-indu* 'at six thirty in the evening'
*bōmenda dāyrō ye zernōndu* 'they came with hautboy and tambourine'
*ešta tete vāzi-ndu-ind* 'your daughters are playing (lit. are in play)'
*ruberu-ndu* 'face to face'

**22.** *(n)ende* is the Ebrāhimābādi form of the above postposition. No other meaning than 'by means of, with' was attested for it in this dialect. *-n-* is realized only before a vowel. Examples:

Ebr. *mixe cakköš ende bekun* 'hit the nail with the hammer'
*ātaš ambör ende ugu* 'pick up the [charcoal] fire with the tongs'
*mana pašm ende bevej* 'weave this with wool'
*qazā karg ende dorost āka* 'make the dish with chicken[s]'
*dadar-i nende* 'by means of your father'
*ma kār Zeynaba nende dorost āka* 'fix this job by means of Zeynaba'

*bi* 'with'

**23.** This postposition was attested only in Tākestāni. Examples:

Tak. *berā-m da ceme bi buma ve* 'my brother, too, had come with me'

*bi* tends to palatalize the oblique singular ending *-e* into *i*, *e.g.*

Tak. *nāz-i bi xāba da pā-mi-bi* 'you rise from sleep with grace'
*Xāje Köwus-i bi* 'with Xāje Kāvus'

*bejā* 'with'[56]

**24.** This postposition occurs only in Eshtehārdi:

Esh. *ālli*[57] *bejā* 'with [my] family'
*xeli zahmate bejā* 'with much trouble'
*jua bejā* 'with her'
*i duná otāqe cubi bejā* 'with a room made of wood'

*vari* 'with'

**25.** This postposition was found only in Dānesfāni:

Dan. *Hasan-e vari beša* 'go with Hasan'
*Hasan-e xoštan-i vari bo* 'bring Hasan with yourself'
*du vari oxa* 'drink (it) with buttermilk'

*Note*. The postposition *na(n)* 'with', absent in Southern Tati, is found in Kahali, Karani, Lerdi, Kajali and Geylavāni, all spoken in Khalkhāl. The final *-n* is weak in Kahali, Karani,

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56. I am not certain whether the first or the second syllable would bear the stress, if *bejā* should stand alone. In actual usage, the stress is placed on the object of *bejā*, but *cf. bijá* 'with' in Razajerdi (in the Kūhpāye District of Qazvin):

Raz. *Hasan-e bijá sho* 'go with Hasan!'
*xoshtan-et bijâ bar* 'tak [him] with yourself'

57. From Arab-Pers. *'ā'ela*

and Lerdi, and disappears in Kajali (as is also the case in Māsāli, spoken in southern Tālesh). In Karani and Lerdi the postposition means 'with' or 'from.' Examples:

Kah. *cakkoš-e na*$^n$ *mix-i buku* 'hit the nail with the hammer'
*Hasan-e na*$^n$ *beše* 'go with Hasan'

Kar. *terašte na*$^n$ *dāre riša na*$^n$ *avaj* 'uproot (lit. pull out from the root) the tree with [a] pick'
*Māsāle na*$^n$ *āgardes* 'he returned from Māsāl'
*man na*$^n$ *mure* 'don't come with me'
*pašma na*$^n$ *bevaj* 'weave with wool'

Ler. *kolange na*$^n$ *bekan* 'dig with the pick'
*otaqe na*$^n$ *agi bua* 'take [it] from the room [and] bring it'
*man eštan na*$^n$ *beba* 'take me with yourself'

### Prepositions

**26.** Prepositions are comparatively rare in Southern Tati, and it is doubtful whether any of them are genuine. One possible exception may be *avi* 'without' which occurs in Xiāraji, *e.g.*[58].

Xia. *avi ātaš nun nemiše* 'without fire bread cannot be'
*avi tefang maša cul* 'don't go outdoors without [a] rifle'

In polite or affected speech, and in poems influenced by Persian poetry, a greater number of prepositions are employed.

58. This may belong, however, to an older layer of borrowings from Persian. *bi* 'without' also occurs in Xiāraji; *v.* below.

**27.** The following prepositions occur:

*a*) *tā, dā,* 'until, up to'. Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| Cha. | *dā berasasen-ā* 'before reaching (lit. until reaching)' |
| Tak. | *tā key* 'until when?' |
| Xia. | *jiāgā dā deraxtun* 'from here to the trees' |
| | *jiāgā dā Dānesfon* 'from here to Dānesfān' |

*b*) *bi* 'without'. Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| Cha. | *bi ešta* 'without you (sing.)' |
| Xia. | *adami bi döšman ānembe* '[a] man cannot be without enemies (sing.) |

*c*) *be* 'to, on, with'. Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| Tak. | *ta be salāmat* 'peace be with you (lit. you with peace)' |
| Esh. | *nehā... be ohde-ye mosta:jere* 'these... are incumbent on the tenant' |
| Xia. | *bemāsenden be difār* 'stick on the wall' |

*d*) *dar* 'in'. Example:

| | |
|---|---|
| Cha. | *agar ketmōn yarā-ša dar je kār* 'if you should hide [the facts] in this affair' |

*e*) *bā* 'with, by means of'. Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| Esh. | *bā cend sar āela* 'with several dependents' |
| Xia. | *Mohammad bef bā jomle yārun* 'there was Mo- |